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ABSTRACT

Similarities among ethnolinguistic groups are greater than differences. It is the belief in the influence of culture and language on basic structures of thought and personality that divides groups, not the structures themselves. However, linguistic differences among ethnic groups are real. The linguistic distinctiveness of a particular ethnic group is a basic component of its members' personal identity; thus, ethnicity and language become associated in the thinking of those inside and outside the group. Three questions based on these assumptions are currently being studied: (1) Do beliefs about a particular ethnolinguistic group affect the efficiency of learning that group's language? (2) Is there any basis to the belief that in becoming bilingual or bicultural cognitive powers are dulled and identities are diluted? (3) Should minority groups try to maintain their ethnolinguistic identities and heritage in the North American setting? Research on English-Canadians learning French demonstrated that attitudes held toward the French strongly influenced the learning of the language. As for bilingualism, French-Canadian bilingual students tested higher than carefully matched monolinguals on both verbal and nonverbal measures of intelligence. Also, testing of adolescent boys of mixed French-English parentage demonstrated that there is no basis for the belief that biculturalism produces a loss of identity. Finally, results of work with French-Canadians, and French-Americans in Maine, substantiate the need for the maintenance of minority ethnolinguistic identities. (LG)

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# CULTURE AND LANGUAGE AS FACTORS IN LEARNING AND EDUCATION*

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It is difficult to dislodge deep-seated beliefs. The one I would like at least to loosen somewhat is the belief that culture and language have profound influences on cognitive processes. The trouble is that it makes awfully good common sense to say that people from different cultural or linguistic backgrounds think differently, and it even makes fairly good social-scientific sense. For instance, some time ago the anthropologist Lévy-Bruhl (1910) presented a certain type of evidence to support the idea that the thinking of "primitive peoples" differed in substance and structure from that of more "civilized" man. Although this thesis has been thoroughly criticized over the years, especially by other anthropologists, it has been difficult to devise decisive empirical counter demonstrations so as to eradicate its influence within the behavioral sciences (c.f., Cole, Gay, Glick & Sharp, 1971). In the case of language, the ethnolinguistis Sapir (1921) and Whorf (1941) presented an equally attractive argument for

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language's influence on thought, and although disputed by many, it has also proved resistant to empirical counter-proofs (c.f., Carroll & Casagrande, 1958).

Over and above the difficulties we all have in defining culture, language, and thought, I have come to question the notion that culture (or language) affects cognitive structures and the related notion that culture affects the structure of personality. I was impressed early in my training with Kroeber's (1948) principle of the "psychic unity" of mankind, so much so that now I am persuaded that similarities among ethnolinguistic groups are much more prominent than differences, that cultural and linguistic backgrounds do not reach down to the basic structures of thought or personality, that variations of thought and personality within cultural or national groups (as reflected, for example, in socio-economic background differences) are much greater than between-group variations, and that few if any modal personality or modal cognitive profiles of any substance are likely to turn up in cross-cultural or cross-national research.

This statement of the matter is perhaps too enthusiastic and too strong in view of the important debates on the subject that are just getting underway. To be fair, it must be said that there actually are no good grounds yet available for deciding one way or the other. In the domain of language, for example, the Piaget school argues for the independence of language and thought while

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the Vygotsky school argues for an interdependence. In the domain of culture's influence, there is a socially significant debate going on between those who argue that certain cultural or linguistic groups are "deficient" relative to others and those who hold that it is a question of "differences" rather than "deficiencies". And now both of these points of view are challenged by a third that questions whether there are any real deficiencies or differences (Cole, Gay, Glick & Sharp, 1971; Cole & Bruner, 1971) Hopefully these debates will stimulate research that will in time help us decide among the alternatives, but until then I believe it helps us to grapple better with the issues involved if we regard with a robust scepticism any claims about cultural or linguistic influences on the basic structures of thought or personality. There is, of course, no debate about the influence of culture and language on the content of thought or the expression of personality, but these are much less captivating matters than the one we are concerned with here.

My own early scepticism has been strengthened by personal research experiences where cultural and linguistic contrasts were expected to emerge, but didn't. It started with a large-scale, cross-national study Otto Klineberg and I conducted some years ago on children's conceptions of foreign peoples (Lambert & Klineberg, 1967). Anthropologists helped us select ten world

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settings that would likely provide cultural contrasts in the ways children view themselves, their own national or ethnic group, and foreign groups. For example, through interviews we solicited the views of large numbers of children in such supposedly diverse settings as Japan, Brazil, Israel, South Africa, Turkey, France, Canada, and the U.S.A. Instead of cultural or national contrasts, what emerged from this study was a large and consistent set of age changes in children's conceptions of the world and these were essentially the same from one setting to another. There were some differences that appeared to be cultural in nature, but it would have been very difficult in our investigation to disentangle the influences of social class, types and amounts of schooling, amounts of travel experience and the like from what seemed to be differences attributable solely to cultural setting. In this instance, then, we were expecting cultural differences; we gave them ample opportunity to show through; but few if any unambiguous ones did.

It happened again when I tried to investigate cultural differences between Canada's two main ethnic groups, the French- and English-Canadians (Lambert, 1970). Here the research involved between-group comparisons of attitudes, various aspects of social perception, indices of achievement motivation and competitiveness, and values associated with child training. Again, the major outcome

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was a pattern of similarities between the two ethnic groups, and the few contrasts that did turn up, as in the case of child training values (Lambert, Yackley & Hein, 1971), cannot be attributed to cultural factors in any simple direct way. They could, in fact, be due as much to differences in social class, education, religion and the like as to ethnic background. At McGill we are still probing for reliable and unambiguous cultural differences among ethnic groups in Canada, and there is much work yet to do, particularly in making sure that we select comparison groups and testing procedures which will permit real cultural differences to show through. Nonetheless, when a serious attempt was made to find cultural differences where they might most be expected in the Canadian setting, few if any have as yet turned up.

One further research experience impressed me, this one conducted by my brother and Leigh Minturn (Minturn & Lambert, 1964) who were interested in the varieties of ways mothers bring up children and how upbringing affects personality. In collaboration with anthropologists they chose six cultural settings which, according to the anthropological literature, would likely provide the maximum in contrasts. Their investigation called for one to two year residences in each of the six cultural settings during which time detailed observations and interviews were carried out. The major outcome in this study was also unanticipated: they found

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very few instances of unambiguous cultural differences in styles of mothering. Instead the styles of mothering that did emerge seemed to depend on conditions such as the number of persons living within a particular space, the amount of time available, after required work, to be with children, and so forth. What struck me was that mothers from such diverse settings as southern India, the Philippines, Mexico, and the U.S.A. could be so much alike in their associations with their children when account is taken of the environmental exigencies placed on them as parents, exigencies that can be found in all cultural settings.

These then are some personal experiences that have probably enhanced the bias in my thinking. Bias or not, it was nonetheless reassuring to read a recent article by Michael Cole and Jerome Bruner (1971) who support a very similar point of view. As they examined the claim that children of minority groups suffer from some sort of intellectual deficit, they were far from convinced. In fact, they argued that the data and theory now available "casts doubt on the conclusion that a deficit exists in minority group children, and even raises doubts as to whether any nonsuperficial differences exist among different cultural groups" (Cole & Bruner, 1971, p. 868, emphasis in original article). A similar idea has recently come from a less technical and less academic source, namely, Richard Hoggart, the Assistant Director-General of UNESCO (Hoggart, 1973) who from his own experiences has developed a faith in cross-cultural communication and understanding because of the

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"common qualities, the ribs of the universal human grammar" that link all men, and because of "common experience" and "common sorrows which above all link us."

There is then the beginnings of an argument to be made against cultural or linguistic differences and their putative impingement on the structures of personality and cognition, and in time the argument may become convincing enough to disturb deep-seated beliefs to the contrary. But until that time arrives, the argument for most people will remain academic. It is this dilemma that intrigues me, namely, that people's beliefs can become so pervasive and so deeply rooted that no attention is given to evidence which might support or contradict the beliefs held. A researcher confronted with this inconsistency might be well advised to drop the topic and move on to other research matters, but I feel that it is more productive to study the beliefs themselves and to try to understand their workings, in this case, to examine people's beliefs about the influence of culture and language and try to understand how such beliefs affect the lives of both ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups. Perhaps with our focus on belief systems we can better understand the practical importance of cultural and linguistic backgrounds in learning and education and see more clearly ways of ameliorating the learning experiences of young people from "different" backgrounds.

Let's start then with the working hypothesis that most people

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believe that cultures differ in basic ways and that cultural and linguistic backgrounds shape our personalities and our modes of thought. Beliefs of this sort are rooted in the early socialization of children. For instance, our own cross-national research on children's views of foreign peoples (Lambert & Klineberg, 1967) indicates that, from infancy on, young children are puzzled about who they are, where the limits of one's own family or community or nation lie, and what criteria should be used to differentiate in-groups from out-groups. Parents, it turns out, become the crucial teachers of children in providing answers to these questions, and what parents typically do (regardless of their "cultural" background) is to draw contrasts for the child between the child's own ethnic group and various other, usually quite distinctive, foreign peoples. This parental training in contrasts among ethnic groups uses the own group as a reference point and typically the own group is stereotyped and presented in a better-than, more favorable light than the comparison groups. Through early education in group contrasts, then, children are likely to pick up the idea that other peoples are different, strange, generally less good, and less dependable. Through schooling, these early-developed beliefs are usually strengthened by training in civics, history and social studies to the extent that this aspect of education draws contrasts of own nation and own social system in comparison with distinctive others in foreign settings,

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and does so with an ethnocentric bias. Thus education within the family and within the school typically contributes to a belief that one's own national or cultural group is special, and this is done with the best of aims, i.e., of socializing the child, or preparing him to take on constructive roles in his own community and society.

The perception of cultural differences is enhanced as well by people's tendencies to link cultures with specific languages or dialects and these linguistic differences are concrete and real. To the extent that cultural or national differences are more apparent than real, the languages associated with particular ethnic groups take on all the more social significance, as though the language differences are used in people's thinking to verify the belief in cultural differences. The tendency to reify the link between a culture and a particular use of language is as characteristic of those who judge speakers of a foreign language as it is of those so judged. It is not difficult therefore to understand why linguistic minority groups often demand and fight for the right to use their own language as a working or learning language instead of a national or international language that might well be of more practical or utilitarian value. In my view this becomes a powerful emotional issue because the group's identity is associated with its distinctive language, and this linguistic distinctiveness becomes an enormously precious personal charac-

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teristic which dominates that group's system of beliefs. Because culture and language become linked in people's thinking, the more one questions the reality of differences in culture, the more important the distinctiveness of the language becomes.

We can start then with the proposition that linguistic distinctiveness is a basic component of personal identity for members of an ethnic group; ethnicity and language become associated in the thinking of those outside a particular ethnic group as well as those within the group. With these assumptions about people's belief systems as a reference point, I would like to discuss with you certain socially relevant questions that a group of us at McGill are trying to answer. The questions are:

1. Do people's beliefs about a particular ethnolinguistic group affect the efficiency of learning that group's language?
2. Is there any basis to the belief that in becoming bilingual or bicultural one dulls his cognitive powers and dilutes his identity?
3. Should minority groups try to maintain their ethnolinguistic identities and heritages in the North American setting?

These questions are interdependent. The first suggests a way of testing whether beliefs are really important for the learning process, specifically whether attitudes towards a particular cultural group affect the efficiency of learning that group's language.

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Similarly, one wonders if beliefs about an ethnic group are contagious enough to affect the desire of members of the ethnic group itself to maintain the language. In other words, the first question explores the way beliefs about a cultural group get associated with the language that group speaks and thereby affects the language learning process. The second question examines the sacredness of the language-culture link by exploring the not-uncommon belief that in becoming bilingual and bicultural (that is, violating the one language-one culture rule), one deteriorates his cognitive powers and the clarity of his cultural identity. The third question depends on the answers to the other two. Depending on the veridicality of the belief that bilingualism and biculturalism are debilitators, and on the importance of beliefs for the learning process, we would approach the adjustment problems of ethnolinguistic minority groups in quite different ways. Our major goal, then, is to suggest appropriate ways of helping America's ethnolinguistic minority groups who may become victims of belief systems, other people's as well as their own.

Do beliefs about a particular ethnolinguistic group affect the efficiency of learning that group's language?

Robert Gardner and I first become interested in people's beliefs about foreign groups in the context of learning and teaching foreign languages (see Gardner & Lambert, 1972). How is it, we asked our-

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selves, that some people can learn a second or foreign language so easily and so well while others, given what seem to be the same opportunities to learn, find it almost impossible? With this as a start, we began to wonder about the more general question of what it is to have a knack for languages. To say that one has to have "an ear for languages" is to give an excuse rather than an answer, since it is too easy to transfer mysteries to biology, either as the source of one's linguistic difficulties or as the source of one's linguistic genius. Perhaps the knack for languages lies in a profile of abilities or aptitudes that develop differently from person to person, some profiles favoring the language-learning process more than others. This idea makes good sense, but there is likely something more to it than aptitudes. Everyone or almost everyone learns his native language painlessly, so why would not everyone have at least a minimally adequate aptitude profile? And history makes it clear that when societies want to keep two or more languages alive, and learning more than one is taken for granted, everyone seems to learn two or more as a matter of course. As social psychologists we believed that there was something more involved. We expected that success in mastering a foreign language would depend not only on intellectual capacity and language aptitude but also on the learner's perceptions of and beliefs about the other ethnolinguistic group, his attitudes towards representatives of that group, and his willingness to identify enough to adopt the

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distinctive aspects of the behavior, linguistic and nonlinguistic, that characterizes that other group. The learner's motivation for language study, it follows, would be determined by his attitudes and readiness to identify and by his orientation to the whole process of learning a foreign language. We saw many possible forms the student's orientation could take, two of which we looked at in some detail: an "instrumental" outlook, reflecting the practical value and advantages of learning a new language, and an "integrative" outlook, reflecting a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the other group. It was our hunch that an integrative orientation would sustain better the long-term motivation needed for the very demanding task of second-language learning, and here we had in mind students in North American contexts studying the popular European languages. For the serious student who in time really masters the foreign language, we saw the possibility of a conflict of identity or alienation (we used the term "anomie") arising as he became skilled enough to become an accepted member of a new cultural group. His knowledge of the language and the people involved would both prepare him for membership and serve as a symptom to members of the other group of his interests and affection. Thus the development of skill in the language could lead the language student ever closer to a point where adjustments in allegiances would be called for.

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In our early studies with English-speaking Canadians in Montreal, we found support for such a theory: achievement in French, studied as a second language at the high school level, was dependant upon linguistic aptitude and verbal intelligence on the one hand, and, quite independent of aptitude, on a sympathetic set of beliefs towards French people and the French way of life. It was this integrative orientation that apparently provided a strong motivation to learn the other group's language. In the Montreal setting, students with an integrative orientation were more successful in second-language learning than those who were instrumentally oriented.

A follow-up study (Gardner, 1960) confirmed and extended these findings, using a larger sample of English Canadian students and incorporating various measures of French achievement. In this case it was difficult to dissociate aptitude from motivational variables since they emerged in a common factor that included not only French skills stressed in standard academic courses but also those skills developed through active use of the language in communication. Apparently, in the Montreal context, the intelligent and linguistically gifted student of French is more likely to be integratively oriented, making it more probably that he could become outstanding in all aspects of French proficiency. Still in the same study, the measures of orientation and desire to learn French emerged as separate factors, independent of language aptitude, and in these instances it was evident that they play an

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important role on their own, especially in the development of expressive skills in French. Further evidence from the intercorrelations indicated that this integrative motive was the converse of an authoritarian ideological syndrome, opening the possibility that basic personality dispositions may be involved in language-learning efficiency. The integrative motive, incidentally, is not simply the result of having more experience with French at home. Rather it seems to depend on the family-wide attitudinal disposition.

The same ideas were tested out in three American settings (communities in Louisiana, Maine and Connecticut) with English-speaking American high school students learning French. Although each community has its own interesting patterns of results, the role played by attitudes towards one's own group and towards foreign groups emerged again as an important influence on the learning process.

Attitudes of this sort also affect the language learning of French-American young people in these settings as it effects the ways they adjust to the bicultural demands made on them. For example, it became evident in our investigation that the attitudes of French-American adolescents towards their own ethnolinguistic group and towards the American way of life can influence their development of linguistic skills in French and English, leading in some instances to a dominance of French over English, in other cases of English over French, and in still others bilingual com-

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petence. The outcome seems to be determined, in part at least, by the way the young French-American handles the conflicts of allegiances he is bound to encounter. For instance, we found in Louisiana that positive attitudes of French-American teenagers towards the French-American culture, coupled with favorable stereotypes of the European French were highly correlated with expressive skills in French. Other types of outlook, however, seem to restrict the potential development of these young people. Thus, a very strong pro-French attitudinal bias or an exceptionally strong motivation and drive to learn French do not automatically promote outstanding competence in the French language. Nor does a strong pro-American outlook assure proficiency in English.

Certain modes of adjustment were especially instructive in the sense that they provide the young French-American with models of how best to capitalize on his bicultural heritage. In Louisiana, for example, students who had very favorable attitudes towards their own cultural group and who also had a good competence in English were outstanding on various measures of proficiency in French. This pattern suggests that French-Americans who are content and comfortable with both facets of their cultural and linguistic heritage are psychologically free to become full bilinguals. In Maine we noted a somewhat different type of adjustment, one of equal interest: French-American students with a strong instrumental orientation toward French study and who receive parental encourage-

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ment to do well in French demonstrate outstanding skills in various aspects of French and feel assured of their competence in both French and English. Realizing that "instrumental" has a quite different meaning for students learning their own language, this family-supported instrumental approach offers the French-American a real chance of being both French and American.

To test further these notions, we wondered whether they would apply in more foreign settings and this led us to the Philippines where a foreign language, English, has become not only a second national language but also the medium of instruction from the early grades on and an essential language for economic advancement and success. For the Philippine study we had to shift attention from French to English and from France to America. It also meant reworking the content of many of our measures and changing our expectations about student reactions, for in this case the language being offered has enormous instrumental value. The results of this investigation brought to light certain cross-nationally stable relationships and certain others that are tied to particular cultural contexts. For example, we found that Filipino students who approach the study of English with an instrumental orientation and who receive parental support for this outlook were clearly successful in developing proficiency in the language. Thus, it seems that in settings where there is an urgency about mastering a second language--as there is in the Philippines and in North America for

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members of linguistic minority groups--the instrumental approach to language study is extremely effective. Nevertheless, for another subgroup of Filipino students, an integrative orientation toward the study of English had a striking effect on proficiency, especially the audio-lingual aspects. This cross-cultural support for the importance of motivational and attitudinal dispositions strengthens greatly our confidence in the basic notions we started with. But still the Philippine investigation changed our perspective on the instrumental-integrative contrast. We see now that the typical student of <u>foreign</u> languages in North America will profit more if he is helped to develop an integrative outlook toward the group whose language is being offered. For him, an instrumental approach has little significance and little motive force. However, for members of ethnic minority groups in North America as for those living in nations that have imported prestigious world languages and made them important national languages, the picture changes. Learning a <u>second</u> language of national or worldwide significance is then indispensable, and both instrumental and integrative orientations towards the learning task must be developed. The challenge for these minority groups or those who import languages is to keep their own linguistic and cultural identity alive while mastering the second language, and in this regard various findings indicate that becoming bilingual does not mean losing identity. In fact, we are now convinced that striving for a comfortable place

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in two cultural systems may be the best motivational basis for becoming bilingual which in turn is one's best guarantee for really belonging to both cultures.

These investigations make it very clear that beliefs about foreign peoples and about one's own ethnicity are powerful factors in the learning of another group's language and in the maintenance of one's own language.

Is there any basis to the belief that in becoming bilingual or bicultural one dulls his cognitive powers and dissipates his identity?

Effects on cognition

The technical literature on the consequences of becoming bilingual and/or bicultural stretches back to the turn of the century and is still growing. In the early literature (1920's and 30's) we find a generally pessimistic outlook on the effects of bilingualism, but since the 1960's there is a much more optimistic picture emerging. Bilingualism and biculturalism, as one might expect, generate much emotional and political steam and this often clouds whatever facts are available. In general, the researchers in the early period expected to find all sorts of problems, and they usually did: bilingual children, relative to monolinguals, were behind in school, retarded in measured intelligence, and socially adrift. One trouble with most of the early studies was that little care was taken to check out the essentials before

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comparing monolingual and bilingual subjects. Thus, social class backgrounds, educational opportunities and the like were not controlled, nor was much attention given to determining how bilingual or monolingual the comparison groups actually were. But even though there were grounds to worry about the adequacy of many of these studies, there was nonetheless an overwhelming trend in the outcomes: the largest proportion of these investigations concluded that bilingualism has a detrimental affect on intellectual functioning, a smaller number found little or no relation between bilingualism and intelligence, and two only suggested that bilingualism might have favorable consequences on cognition.

With this picture as background, Elizabeth Peal and I started an investigation on the bilingual-monolingual topic in 1962 in the Canadian setting. We, of course, had strong expectations of finding a bilingual deficit as the literature suggested, but we wanted to pinpoint what the intellectual components of that deficit were in order to develop compensatory education programs. We argued that a large proportion of the world's population is, by the exigencies of life, bound to be bilingual, and it seemed to us appropriate to help them, if possible.

We were able in our first investigation to profit from most of the shortcomings of earlier research, making us feel relatively confident about the results (see Lambert & Anisfeld, 1969). What surprised us, though, was that French-English bilingual children

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in the Montreal setting scored significantly ahead of carefully matched monolinguals both on verbal and non-verbal measures of intelligence. Furthermore the patterns of test results suggested to us that the bilinguals had a more diversified structure of intelligence, as measured, and more flexibility in thought.

For someone who doesn't really believe that language influences thought, these results, suggesting the possibility that bilingualism--a double-language experience--might affect the structure and flexibility of thought, came as a double-barreled surprise. But one investigation rarely has enough weight to change the course of events, even though an important follow-up study (Anisfeld, 1964) confirmed the 1962 conclusions. What was needed was confirmation from other settings and from studies with different approaches.

Since then confirmations have started to emerge from carefully conducted research around the world, from Singapore (Torrance et al., 1970), Switzerland (Balkan, 1971), South Africa (Ianco-Worrall, 1972), Israel and New York (Ben-Zeev, 1972), western Canada (Cummins & Gulutsan, 1973), and, using a quite different approach, from Montreal (Scott, 1973). All of these studies (and we have found no others in the recent literature to contradict them) indicate that bilingual children relative to monolingual controls, show definite advantages on measures of "cognitive flexibility", "creativity", or "divergent thought". Sandra Ben-Zeev's study,

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for example, involved Hebrew-English bilingual children in New York and Israel and the results strongly support the conclusion that bilinguals have greater "cognitive flexibility". In this case, the term means that bilinguals have greater "skill at auditory reorganization" of verbal material, a much more "flexible manipulation of the linguistic code" and are more advanced in "concrete operational thinking" as these were measured in her investigation. Anita Ianco-Worrall's study involved Afrikaans-English bilingual children in Pretoria, South Africa and it lends equally strong support for a somewhat different form of cognitive flexibility, an advantage over monolingual controls in separating word meaning from word sound. The conclusion is drawn that the bilinguals were between two and three years advanced in this feature of cognitive development which Leopold (1949) felt to be so characteristic of the liberated thought of bilinguals. Worrall also found good support for a bilingual precocity in realizing the arbitrary assignment of names to referents, a feature of thinking which Vygotsky (1962) believed reflected insight and sophistication.

The recent study by Sheridan Scott (1973) involving French-English bilinguals in Montreal is perhaps the most persuasive. She worked with data collected over a seven year period from two groups of English-Canadian children. One group had become functionally bilingual in French during the time period because they had attended experimental classes where most of the instruction

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had been conducted in French. The other group had followed a conventional English-language education program. At the grade 1 level, the two groups had been equated for measured intelligence, socio-economic background, and parental attitudes towards French people. In fact, had the opportunity been presented to them, it is likely that most of the parents in the control group would have enrolled their children in the experimental French program, but no such opportunity was available since it was decided in advance to start one experimental class per year only (see Lambert & Tucker, 1972).

Scott was interested in the effect becoming bilingual would have on the cognitive development of the children, in particular, what effect it would have on the children's "divergent thinking", a special type of cognitive flexibility. The term was apparently introduced by Guilford (1950, 1956) to characterize a cognitive style that contrasts with "convergent thinking". Convergent thinking is measured by tests that provide a number of pieces of information which the subject must synthesize to arrive at a correct answer; thus, the information provided funnels in or converges on a correct solution. Divergent thinking provides the subject a starting point for thought--"think of a paper clip"--and asks the subject to generate a whole series of permissible solutions--"and tell me all the things one could do with it". Some researchers have considered divergent thinking as an index of creativity (e.g., Getzels & Jackson, 1962) while others suggest that until more is

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known it is best viewed as a distinctive cognitive style reflecting a rich imagination and an ability to scan rapidly a host of possible solutions.

Scott was interested, among other things, in whether bilingualism promotes divergent thinking. Her results, based on a multivariate analysis, show a substantial advantage for the bilingual over the monolingual children on the divergent thinking tests, and in this investigation one can examine the year-by-year development of the advantage. Her study opens up many interesting possibilities for more in-depth analysis of the bilingual's thought processes.

There is then an impressive array of evidence accumulating that argues plainly against the common sense notion that becoming bilingual, i.e., having two strings to one's bow or two linguistic systems within one's brain, naturally divides a person's cognitive resources and reduces his efficiency of thought. Instead one can now put forth a very persuasive argument that there is a definite cognitive advantage for bilingual over monolingual children in the domain of cognitive flexibility. Only further research will tell us how this advantage, assuming it is a reliable phenomenon, actually works: whether it is based on a better storage of information by bilinguals, whether the separation of linguistic symbols from their referents or the ability to separate word meaning from word sound is the key factor, whether the bilingual contrasts of linguistic systems aids in the development of general conceptual thought, or whatever. In any case, this new trend in research

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should give second thoughts to those who have used the bilingual deficit notion as an argument for melting down ethnic groups. Hopefully, too, it will provide a new insight to those ethnolinguistic groups who may also have been led to believe in the notion of a likely deficit attributable to bilingualism.

One feature of the studies just reviewed merits special attention: all the cases reported (those in Singapore, South Africa, Switzerland, Israel, New York, Montreal) dealt with bilinguals using two languages both of which have social value and respect in each of the settings. Thus, knowing Afrikaans and English in South Africa, Hebrew and English in New York and Israel, or French as well as English for English-speaking Canadian children would in each case be adding a second, socially relevant language to one's repertory of skills. In no case would the learning of the second language portend the dropping or the replacement of the other as would typically be the case for French-Canadians or Spanish-Americans developing high-level skills in English. We might refer to these as examples of an <u>additive</u> form of bilingualism and contrast it with a more <u>subtractive</u> form experienced by many ethnic minority groups who because of national educational policies and social pressures of various sorts are forced to put aside their ethnic language for a national language. Their degree of bilinguality at any point in time would likely reflect some stage in the subtraction of the ethnic language and its replacement with another.

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The important educational task of the future, it seems to me, is to transform the pressures on ethnic groups so that they can profit from an additive form of bilingualism, and, as we'll see in the final section, this project runs up against beliefs and attitudes again.

Effects on identity

What about the notion that becoming bilingual and bicultural subtracts, through division, from one's sense of personal identity? Here too, there are signs in the recent literature of interest in this topic, but there are still only a few studies to draw on. Three, however, do bear on the issue of the identity of bilinguals, and all three are encouraging in their outcomes.

The first is the study, mentioned earlier, of French-Americans in communities in New England and Louisiana (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) and their ways of coping with a dual heritage: some oriented themselves definitely toward their French background and tried to ignore their American roots; others were tugged more toward the American pole at the expense of their Frenchness; and still others apparently tried not to think in ethnic terms, as though they did not consider themselves as being either French or American. These three types of reactions parallel closely those of Italian-American adolescents studied earlier by Child (1943). To me these ways of coping characterize the anguish of members of ethnic groups when caught up in a subtractive form of biculturalism, that is, where

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social pressures are exerted on them to give up one aspect of their dual identity for the sake of blending into a national scene. We will return to these three reaction styles later when we can contrast them with a fourth style which reflects an additive form of biculturalism that also turned up in our study of French-Americans. The important point here is that identities are fragile and they can, through social pressures, be easily tipped off balance.

Identities need not be so disturbed, though, as the study of Aellen and Lambert (1969) showed. In this case we were interested in the adjustments made by adolescent children of English-French mixed marriages in the Montreal setting. We examined the degree and direction of the offspring's ethnic identifications as well as a selected set of their attitudes, values, and personality characteristics.

The children of these mixed marriages come in contact with and are usually expected to learn the distinctive social and behavioral characteristics of the two cultures represented in their families. The question is whether the demands made on them necessarily generate conflicts, whether the experience with two cultures possibly broadens and liberalizes the child, or whether some combination of both outcomes is typical. In addition to the cultural demands made on them, the children of mixed ethnic marriages may face other difficulties to the extent that their parents, as suggested by Gordon (1966) and Saucier (1965), may have

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married outside their ethnic group because of personal instability and immaturity. Much of the previous research suggests that persons who intermarry in this way often have relatively strong feelings of alienation, self-hatred, and worthlessness, and are disorganized and demoralized. Mixed ethnic children might well find it difficult to identify with their parents if these characteristics are typical or representative. Still, the offspring could develop understanding and sympathy for parents with such an outlook. On the other hand, people may intermarry in many instances because they have developed essentially healthy attitudes and orientations which are nonetheless inappropriate within their own ethnic group, making intermarriage with a sympathetic outsider particularly attractive. They may have become, like Park's marginal man, "the individual with the wider horizon, the keener intelligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint...always relatively the more civilized human being" (Park, 1964, p. 376). In that case, their children might be particularly well trained in tolerance and open-mindedness, especially since the children, themselves, are likely to feel that they, unlike their parents, are automatically members of <u>both</u> ethnic groups. The purpose of this investigation was to examine both these possibilities as objectively as possible by comparing groups of adolescent boys of mixed French-English parentage with others of homogeneous background, either French or English. All groups in the comparison were similar as to age, socioeconomic class,

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intelligence and number of siblings.

It was found that the profile of characteristics of the boys with mixed ethnic parentage is a healthy one in every respect when comparisons are made with groups from homogeneous ethnic backgrounds; they identify with their parents. especially with their fathers, as well as the comparison groups do; they relate themselves to and identify with both ethnic reference groups, this being particularly so for those in a French academic environment; they show no signs of personality disturbances, social alienation, or anxiety; nor do their self concepts deviate from those of the comparison subjects; they see their parents as giving them relatively more attention and personal interest, and their attitudes towards parents are as favourable as those of the comparison groups; they seek out distinctively affectionate relationships with peers; their general attitudinal orientations are similar to those of the comparison groups while their specific attitudes towards both English and French Canadians are relatively unbiased; their values show the influence of both ethnic backgrounds as do their achievement orientations which are less extreme than those of the comparison groups. Rather than developing a divided allegiance or repressing one or both aspects of their backgrounds, as has been noted among the offspring of certain immigrant groups (Child, 1943), they apparently have developed a dual allegiance that permits them to identify with both their parents, and to feel that they themselves are wanted as

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family members. One of the mixed ethnic boys summed up this finding by saying: "I respect both my parents, and I respect their origins." One might argue that the concern of the parents of mixed ethnic adolescents to "include" their children is exaggerated, a symptom of tension and value conflict, but such an interpretation is negated by the apparent success these parents have had in passing on a sense of being wanted. There are, however, many features of this pattern of results that need further study.

This profile sketch is more pronounced for the mixed ethnic subjects who are part of the French-Canadian high school environment. These young people may be more susceptible to the English-Canadian culture than those attending English-Canadian schools would be to French-Canadian culture because of the Canadian cultural tug of war which seems, at least until recently, to be controlled by the more powerful and prestigious English-Canadian communities (see Lambert, 1967).

Two general modes of adjustment to a mixed ethnic backgrounds became apparent. In one case, these young men incorporate both ethnic streams of influence, which are either modified by the parents before they are passed on to their children, or are tempered by the adolescents themselves, so that they are less extreme than those represented by either of the major reference groups. A tendency to amalgamate both cultural streams of influence is suggested by the contrasts noted between the ethnically mixed groups

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and the homogeneous groups, e.g., the unbiased ethnic identifications of the former, their perceptions of parents as being inclusive, their favourable attitudes towards both English and French Canadians, and their less extreme achievement values. In the other case, they tend to adapt their views to the predominant features of the academic-cultural environment in which they find themselves. This form of adjustment is suggested by the tendency of the mixed ethnic groups to line up with the respective homogeneous groups with whom they attend high school, e.g., their choices of the values they hope to pass on to their own children, the personality traits they see as undesirable, and their judgments of the relative attractiveness of English-Canadian or French-Canadian girls.

This illustration provides hope for biculturality in the sense that offspring of mixed-ethnic marriages appear to profit from the dual cultural influences found in their families. Rather than cultural conflicts, we find well adjusted young people with broad perspectives who are comfortable in the role of representing both of their cultural backgrounds. We also have here an illustration of the additive form of biculturalism; the boys studied were caught in the flow of two cultural streams and were apparently happy to be part of both streams.

There is a similar type outcome in the investigation, mentioned earlier, conducted by Richard Tucker and myself (Lambert &

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Tucker, 1972) concerning the English-Canadian children who took the majority of their elementary schooling via French, and who after grades 5 and 6 had become functionally bilingual. Here we were able to measure on a yearly basis their self conceptions and their attitudes towards English-Canadian, French-Canadian and French-French ways of life. The attitude profiles of the children in the Experimental French program indicate that by the fifth grade important affective changes have occurred during the course of the project. The children state that they enjoy the form of education they are receiving and want to stay with it; their feelings toward French people have become decidedly more favorable; and they now think of themselves as being both French- and English-Canadian in personal makeup. It is this apparent identification with French people--those from Canada and those from Europe--that raises the question of biculturalism. Has the program made the children more bicultural? It is difficult to answer this question because the meaning of bicultural is so vague. It is certain that the children now feel they can be at ease in both French-and English-Canadian social settings, and that they are becoming both French and English in certain regards; but not becoming less English as a consequence. It is certain too they have learned that in classes with European-French teachers they should stand when a visitor enters while they need not stand in classes that are conducted by English-Canadian or French-Canadian

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teachers. We wonder how much more there is to being bicultural beyond knowing thoroughly the languages involved, feeling personally aligned with both groups, and knowing how to behave in the two atmospheres. Are there any deeper personal aspects to cultural differences? That is, does culture actually affect personality all that much or is it perhaps a more superficial and thinner wrapping than many social scientists have suggested?

The attitudes of the parents at the start of the project were basically friendly and favorable, although marked with very little knowledge about the French-Canadian people around them. These parents wanted their children to learn French for essentially integrative reasons--getting to know the other ethnic group and their distinctive ways--but they did not want them to go so far as to think and feel as French Canadians do, in other words to lose their English-Canadian identity. How will they interpret the attitudes of their children who by grade 5 come to think of themselves as being both English- and French-Canadian in disposition and outlook? Some may see this as a worrisome sign of identity loss, but we believe they will come to interpret their children's enjoyment in having both English- and French-Canadian friends and both types of outlooks as a valuable addition, not a subtraction or cancellation of identities. As we see it, the children are acquiring a second social overcoat which seems to increase their interest in dressing up and reduces the wear and tear placed on either coat alone. Our

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guess is that the children are beginning to convince any worried parents that the experience is, in fact, enriching and worthwhile.

Of course, the parents cannot share fully their children's experience or their development of a dual identity. Nevertheless, in the few noticeable cases where the divergence of views between parents and children has become very apparent, even those parents give the impression that they are pleased that their children are being prepared to take their place in a new type of multilingual and multicultural society and help shape its development. As parents, they can easily take pride in the fact that they have gone out of their way to help in this special type of preparation.

These studies suggest to us that there is no basis in reality for the belief that becoming bilingual or bicultural necessarily means a loss or dissolution of identity. We are aware of the possible pressures that can surround members of ethnolinguistic minority groups and make them hesitant to become full-fledged members of two cultural communities. At the same time, though, we see how easy and rewarding it can be for those who are able to capitalize on a dual heritage. The question of most interest, then, is how in modern societies these possibilities can be extended to ethnolinguistic minority groups, the major issue of the section to follow.

Should minority groups try to maintain their ethnolinguistic identity and heritage in the North American setting?

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In order to suggest an answer to this question, it seems to me that we need first to examine in more detail the types of conflicts ethnolinguistic groups in North America can encounter in their attempts to adjust to the bicultural demands made on them. Hopefully through this explanation we will be able to discern which factors in the society lead to crises of allegiances and which provide opportunities for a comfortable bicultural identity. To this end, we will start with the case of French Canadians and their continuing struggle to survive as an ethnic group. Perhaps through a brief survey of Canadian research we can get perspective on the general problems faced by ethnic minorities.

A series of investigations was started in 1958 with French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) residents of Montreal, a setting with a long history of inter-ethnic group tensions. The research technique employed in these studies, referred to as the "matched-guise" procedure, has groups of subjects drawn from various age and social class levels of the EC and FC communities give their impressions or evaluations of the personality characteristics of speakers who represent their own and the other ethnic group. Thus, groups of EC and FC subjects are asked to estimate or judge the probable personality traits of a number of speakers, say 12, presented to them on tape. Half of the speakers use French and half use English while reading a standard translation-equivalent passage. Listeners are kept in the dark about the fact that each

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speaker they hear is a balanced French-English bilingual and the reactions elicited by each speaker's two linguistic guises are later matched up and compared statistically (see Lambert, 1967; Giles, 1971). The procedure has proved instructive and useful as a means of investigating social tensions in bicultural or multi-ethnic settings such as Quebec (see Lambert, 1970) Israel, (Lambert, Anisfeld & Yeni-Komshian, 1965), and Great Britain (Giles, 1971a).

The early research showed that EC college students evaluate the personality of speakers more favorably when the speakers use their EC rather than their FC linguistic guise. Furthermore, and somewhat surprising, FC students showed the same tendency, in a more exaggerated form; that is, they too, rated the EC guises of speakers much more favorably than the FC guises (Lambert, 1967). Apparently then both ECs and FCs attribute different status and different degrees of respect to those who represent the EC and FC communities in French Canada.

But there are in Quebec various forms of French currently in use, and each of these is also given its own position in the status hierarchy. For example, Chiasson-Lavoie and Laberge (1971) recently found evidence of a linguistic insecurity among working class FCs in Montreal. D'Anglejan and Tucker (1973) also report on a similar type of language sensitivity which shows itself in an overattention to correctness of speech among working class FCs and a marked preference for European style French by FCs of various regional

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and occupational backgrounds. Thus FCs tend to react, as minority groups often do, by downgrading their own characteristic modes of behavior, including speech.

These sociolinguistic phenomena also affect the fate and durability of social contacts between members of various ethnic and linguistic groups. For instance, the status relations and role expectations of the two or more people involved in social interaction are likely colored by the inferences each actor makes of the others, inferences that are based to an important extent on speech styles (Giles 1971b; 1972).

The dilemmas are not merely those of college-age people in the FC community, for youngsters also get involved, and in this case too there are no signs of amelioration when 1960 and 1970 research is compared. In 1962 Elizabeth Anisfeld and I (Anisfeld & Lambert, 1964) examined the reactions of ten-year-old FC children to the matched guises of bilingual youngsters of their own age reading French and English versions of a standard passage and found that the FC guises of the speakers were rated more favorably than the EC guises on a whole series of traits.

Currently, Sylvie Lambert (1973) has taken a further and more extensive look at the ten-year-old FCs self views. Her results, collected in 1972, suggest that FC ten-year-olds downgrade representatives of their own ethnolinguistic group to a marked degree in comparison with representatives of the European French (EF)

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community, and on a selection of traits related to social attractiveness (e.g., interestingness, amusingness, sureness of self), they evaluate their own group less favorably than ECs. What is particularly instructive about this study is that it included the views of FC school teachers, and it was found that FC elementary school teachers have essentially the same profiles of stereotypes as the ten-year-olds. The social implications of these trends and the changes noted over a ten year period are enormous.

All told, these research findings indicate that little has been done in North America to help ethnolinguistic minority groups maintain respect in their linguistic and cultural heritage so that they could become full-fledged bicultural members of their national society. There are, however, several recent developments in the American society that hold out a new and exciting type of hope. These developments, in fact, constitute another instance where the U.S.A. has an opportunity to set an outstanding example of what can be done for ethnic minority groups. The first development is a new perspective, generated it seems by the critical self analysis of collegiate activists in the 60's, on what it means to be American. It was American collegiates who demanded national respect for minority groups of every variety, including Afro-Americans and American-Indians.
As a nation, these young people argued, we have no right to wash out distinctive traditions of any minority group since their ways of life, relative to the so-called American way of life, are in

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many respects admirable.

The second development, which may have stemmed from the first, takes the form of a national willingness to help minority groups. One way this willingness to help manifests itself is in new educational laws that provide extensive schooling in Spanish for Spanish-Americans in America's large centers, in the passage of the Bilingual Education Act, and in new laws passed in states such as Massachusetts which provide schooling in any number of home languages whenever a group of parents request it.

The third development is a new direction in psycholinguistic research which, although only now getting underway, indicates that the hyphenated American can perhaps most easily become fully and comfortably American if the Spanish, the Polish, the Navajo or the French prefix is given unlimited opportunity to flourish. For example, the research of Padilla and Long, 1969; (see also Long and Padilla, 1970) indicates that Spanish-American children and adolescents can learn English better and adjust more comfortably to America if their linguistic and cultural ties with the Spanish speaking world are kept alive and active from infancy on. Peal and Lambert (1962) came to a similar conclusion when they found that FC young people who are given opportunities to become bilingual are more likely than monolinguals to be advanced in their schooling in French schools, to develop a diversified and flexible intelligence, and to develop attitudes that are as charitable

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towards the other major Canadian cultural group as their own. A similar conclusion is drawn from the recent work of Lambert and Tucker (1972) where EC youngsters are given most of their elementary training via French. These children too seem to be advanced, relatively, in their cognitive development, their appreciation for French people and French ways of life, and their own sense of breadth and depth as Canadians.

In view of these sympathetic and supportive new developments, is it now possible to assist the hyphenated American to become fully and comfortably bilingual and bicultural? Is it now possible to counteract and change the reactions of ethnically different children in America so that they will no longer feel different, peculiar and inferior whenever they take on their Spanish, Portuguese, Polish, Navajo or French styles of life as a temporary replacement for the American style?

Asking ourselves these questions prompted us to start a community-based study in Northern Maine (Lambert, Giles, Picard, 1973). The setting for the investigations was Maine's St. John Valley area, an American peninsula that protrudes into the Quebec and New Brunswick Provinces. The closest "Anglo" community is nearly 50 miles to the south of Madawaska, center of the St. John Valley. The ties are much closer on a personal, social and cultural level with French New Brunswick and Quebec than with the rest of the state of Maine. The total valley region is made up of approximately

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70-75% French Canadian descendants with the local language still a strong part of the way of life.

The research questions that shaped the investigation took the following form:

(1) How do America's ethnolinguistic groups adjust to the bicultural demands made on them? Is it typical for French-Americans in New England, for example, to reject their ethnolinguistic affiliations and identify more closely with the majority English speaking culture? What is the developmental nature of changes that take place in their ethnic identity? In psycholinguistic terms, would the typical French-American evaluate speakers of English more favorably than speakers of one of the various forms of French?

(2) Does participation in a bilingual education program influence children's attitudes towards the various forms of French, and if so, in what direction?

To provide at least partial answers to these questions, different subgroups of people living in Maine, some from the Valley region and some from outside, some French-American and others not, were asked to listen and give their subjective reactions to a variety of speech styles as presented by adult native speakers of one or another of the styles. The speech styles decided on were: European French (EF); middle class French Canadian (mcFC); lower class French Canadian (lcFC); middle class Madawaskan French (mcMF);

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lower class Madawaskan French (lcMF); middle class Madawaskan English (mcME); and middle class non-regional English (nrE).

Three groups of listeners were decided on so that we could examine age changes in the reactions of native French-Americans. In the first study, attention was directed to the evaluative reactions of two groups of college students, one French-American and the other comprising non-French-Americans who live outside the St. John Valley. In the second study, our focus was on French-American high school students from the Valley region, and in the third study on French-American ten-year-olds, some of whom with training in French (i.e., via French) for four years under the Title VII Bilingual Program, and others without such a program of training in French.

The listeners in the three studies were required to evaluate each speaker separately by rating him or her on bipolar adjectival trait scales (e.g., good-bad, wise-foolish, and so on). The traits finally used were selected after preliminary testing in the Valley schools and colleges that permitted us to identify those personality qualities seen as valuable and worthwhile by each age group. The details of these investigations are available elsewhere (Lambert, Giles, & Picard, 1973) but the general outcomes are particularly pertinent.

(1) Do French-American young people typically reject their French affiliation and identify more closely with the majority English-speaking culture?

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Considering the findings of all three studies, this matter can be examined developmentally. There is substantial evidence to suggest that at the age of ten, the typical French-American youngster from Maine's Valley region who follows a conventional all-English curriculum in public school rejects his French ethnicity and orients himself to the English-speaking American as a model. The ethnic allegiances that he does have are apparently limited to his own ethnolinguistic group, the lower class, local French community, but even in this instance his affiliations are ambivalent and potentially self-effacing. The influence of European French as a model appears to be minimal at this age, although the EF speakers are perceived more favorably than are French Canadians.

By adolescence, however, a different ethnic orientation seems to develop. Thirteen- to seventeen-year-old French-Americans from the Valley also appear to orient themselves towards the English-speaking American model, but other factors come into play which tend to reduce this model's impact. For instance, European French people are seen to be as competent (e.g., intelligent, determined and confident, etc.) and as attractive socially as Americans, judging from the reception given to nrE and mcME style speakers. Also in the eyes of the adolescent, the middle class version of the local French dialect (mcMF) has assumed an advantage over the working class counterpart (lcMF) in the sense that it is judged as favorably as the English models or the EF in terms of

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social attractiveness.

College students in the Valley region appear to have equally sympathetic attitudes toward European and local forms of French as towards English. That is, English no longer has a pre-eminent position in the heirarchy. This finding is of special interest because it could mean that the French-American elite who go on to college have developed an understanding and appreciation for both aspects of their biculturality. This possibility will be checked out carefully with follow-up research, as it has both theoretical and social importance (see Gardner & Lambert, 1972). At any rate, we find that college students judge speakers of the mcMF and EF styles to be as competent as speakers of the various English styles. Stated otherwise, European French and educated local French are considered by the French-American college students to be as appropriate and respected media of social interaction as English.

These results contradict the commonly-held belief that with time members of America's ethnic minority groups become assimilated, which often is taken to mean forgetting about the old country and old-country ways (including language) and becoming "American". In this community we have evidence for an increase through the age levels in appreciation for old country ways in the sense that European and local versions of French are given the same degree of respect as English by college students. It could be that for

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these young people being "American" implies being French or being ethnic, no matter what variety.*

(2) How do non-French-Americans from Northern Maine react to the various styles of French, particularly the local variety?

Unfortunately, we have only the reactions of the college sample from Study I to draw on for an answer. Limited as this base is, the results show clearly that college students living in Northern Maine who are not part of the French-American community also indicate that the mcMF and EF speech styles of French are as acceptable and valuable in their eyes as are the nrE or mcME of English. This subgroup of informants was sensitive to social class differences and showed this by downgrading the lower class variety of local French. The fact that members of the greater "American" culture

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*We are aware, of course, that in these studies we have not systematically controlled for the social class and educational potential of the three age groups brought into comparison (the ten-year-olds, the adolescents, and the college students). Replications of these studies should therefore include young adults in the community who have not had the opportunity of college training to determine if this favorable outlook toward French is general. It would also be valuable to compare the St. John Valley region with other French-American communities to determine if these outlooks are shared by French-Americans.

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share the evaluative norms of the French-American population of Northern Maine must be seen as a most favorable and optimistic sign, one that makes it all the more necessary that this finding be verified through replications of the same type of study with other than college students and in various regions of New England.

(3) Does experience in a bilingual education program influence French-American children's attitudes towards the French and English languages?

The findings from our third study certainly suggest that substantive changes are made by French instruction in the children's attitudes towards their two languages. It was found that the No Program children were strongly Anglo oriented in their evaluative reactions whereas the children with experience in the bilingual education program were, in contrast, much more favorably disposed toward French. Indeed, the Program children's outlook toward French was much more like the older age groups studied, except that they did not rate mcMF as favorably as the high school and college-age students did and they had a more favorable orientation toward Canadian style French than did the older age groups. Judging from the attitudes of the older subjects one might anticipate that in time the mcMF style would naturally attain more prestige for these children. Of course, the natural development of favorable attitudes towards the local version of French could be jeopardized if the bilingual program in any way belittled the local variety

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in comparison with the two imported styles--the European and the Canadian. The point is that the planners of bilingual programs should keep prevailing adult preferences in mind, and our evidence is that this community favors European and the educated form of local French.

The results of the third study also suggest that the Program children may have been made overenthusiastic and slightly biased toward French which is in contrast to the more balanced bicultural outlook of the college group investigated. But we have to keep in mind that there is a major difference in the educational experiences of the two groups. The ten-year-olds in the bilingual program are being schooled in part through French, and the value of being French is unmistakably introduced to the children via the program. The older students have never had such an experience; they followed a conventional all English program of schooling designed for "American" students and it is much less likely that they would be literate in French. We can, then, easily understand the enthusiasm of the Program children.

Nevertheless, those responsible for such programs must keep overall goals clearly in mind and aid the children in ultimately making a two-language and two-culture adjustment. My own bias is that a bilingual education program, to be helpful and constructive, should attempt to develop the full potential of ethnolinguistic minority groups so that members can become fully American at

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the same time as they remain fully French, Polish or whatever. There is an accumulation of evidence that children can very easily become comfortably bicultural and bilingual, and that from this base they can enhance their sense of personal well-being, their sense of social justice, and their tolerance and appreciation of human diversity (see Gardner & Lambert, 1972 and Lambert & Tucker, 1972).

The results of these pilot studies should, then, be heartening to all those involved in the local bilingual education program, since it seems clear that such programs can have a powerful influence on the fate of the cultural and linguistic identities of young members of ethnolinguistic minority groups. Equally satisfying is the realization that the St. John Valley community as a whole, even those who are not members of the minority group, react favorably to the educated version of local French as they do to the European version, making both forms of French as respectable media of communication as English.

Encouraging as these studies are, they are only a start, and we are currently re-doing this type of research in other New England communities. But in my mind there are grounds enough here to answer question 3 in the following way: North American ethnolinguistic groups should be encouraged from as many sources as possible to maintain their dual heritage. Not only are they America's richest human resource, but we are beginning to see

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where conflicts of allegiances are likely to arise and how these groups can be helped to attain a comfortable bilingual and bicultural way of life by being themselves, making their potential value to the nation all the greater. In my mind, there is no other way for them to be comfortable, for to subtract one of their heritages would be to spoil their chances of adjustment. In other words, I don't think they will be able to be fully American unless they are given every possibility of being fully French, Portuguese, Spanish or whatever as well.

This ends up to be a long paper and I apologize. But I needed all these words to present my personal view of how culture and language affect the learning and education processes. I had first to redirect the reader's thinking from what he might have expected by the title and to present my reasons for scepticism about the conventional treatment of cultural and linguistic influences on thinking and learning. I don't believe culture and language per se actually affect the form or structure of thought. But most people believe that they do have this effect and it was to these types of beliefs, held by national majority groups as well as ethnolinguistic minority groups, that attention was directed. First I tried to demonstrate how influential these beliefs about ethnicity are in the learning process, especially the learning of an ethnic group's language, and in the case of ethnic group members, the maintenance of one's own language. Then I

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examined persistent and nasty beliefs about the disturbances and confusions attendant on bilingualism and biculturalism, and found these beliefs, to my way of thinking, to be false. And because they appear false to me I wanted to re-examine the plight of America's ethnolinguistic minorities with a view of changing people's beliefs about the worthwhileness of giving America's minority groups a real chance to survive and flourish.

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